2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

[The Usina]

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than any plantation belonging to the factory, for it is usually "home" to the owner, who is interested in keeping it as pleasant as possible, while the factory plantation in charge of an overseer is simply a business project existing only to produce sugar cane. 249* 466 184

At the Usina São Pedro, as stated earlier for the Recôncavo generally, the consolidation of land by the corporations has not turned the entire property into one large plantation. Instead, each plantation has retained its old boundaries, indeed complete autonomy, following only the general policies of the factory directory. The Usina São Pedro happens to be situated in a central position in relation to its six plantations. This is not always the case, for frequently the lands of a factory are scattered far from the plant itself, creating difficulties of administration and transportation. 249* 423

Each of the plantations has its own nucleus, the street of workers' houses oriented toward the house of the overseer. Each of these little villages has its own small store, usually a private enterprise of the overseer. The largest plantation, Pedras, has a chapel and a school. None of the plantations has an electric power line, but each has a telephone in the overseer's house. The feeling of isolation and abandonment is strong, as indeed it is on almost all overseer-directed plantations belonging to a factory. There is a general feeling of pity for the residents who are situated so far from their patrão and whose first recourse must be the overseer, a man like themselves, with little or no education and little interest in the people other than to keep them working. In other words, the factory plantation lacks the paternal hand of the owner. In other respects it is similar to the private plantation in that it has an overseer, a foreman, a cowboy, and resident workmen. 249* 36 [206]* 249* 571 [184] 249*

The bulk of the agricultural direction of the São Pedro plantations is in the hands of the general overseer, Seu Pipiu. It is his duty to direct and supervise the activities of all six plantations. He is a man of no small status. He is practically independent in his actions, for the directors of the factory tell him how much cane they feel they need in the forthcoming harvest, and it is up to him to produce it. The methods and problems in doing this are left up to him. Seu Pipiu gives orders to each of the regional overseers, whose duties are the same as those of the overseer on a private plantation. The only difference is that they are dealing with a superior employee, instead of with the owner in person. The general over- 463 466

[Class A Families]

to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple might have as many as twenty children. It was common among these large families for at least one child to enter the priesthood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only because of the smaller size of the families, but also because the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and settled in business; the families can no longer support married children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of being married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them have entered the professions, but recently it has become stylish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, without the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with their husbands and are now partners rather than household fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a desire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expected at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of family members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside acquaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, patriarchal families which gives people their status in the community as a whole and their right to enter new groups which form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

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369 the fathers, who insisted that the children go. In the case of a woman who moves in with a new husband and brings her own children, she always makes it clear that the children are hers and not his. She will allow no interference from her husband in the matter of disciplining her children. Often the best possible relations exist between stepfather and children, but he never gives orders to them. The rural mother in all cases seems to be more exacting with her offspring than the town
[861] mother. It is not uncommon for a rural mother to beat her children, even those who are grown men, with the cipó de caboclo (a switch), whereas this would never happen in the town. She also extends her control over them even after they are married, counseling them and helping when she can, and criticizing them severely if she does not like something they do.

883 By the time they are in their late teens, boys become in-
584 terested in courting (namoro), though girls often start earlier. If a boy sees a girl who interests him, he manages to
212 meet her as often as possible on the street or at the dock, and
832 by looks and slight remarks makes it clear that he is interested. Or, if he can write, he may send the girl a note through
[206] a common friend. In Vila Recôncavo the telephone office is a popular place for making one's interests known, for the telephone operator is a young woman who is highly respected by most people in town and well liked by young people. A note typical of those which may pass through her hands is as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 7, 1951

Dona Therezinha, Salutations:

I am absolutely convinced that you do not doubt the sincerity of my love, which is always manifested so clearly in my letters and in my face when I see you.

So, I equally have the conviction of having the strange happiness of possessing your love, but in the meantime there is something lacking to complete my felicity. That is to speak to you, to hear from your lips the sincere confession of your love, to feel you near me for a few minutes.

I ask you to give me permission to speak to you, indicating the day, hour, and place in which we can meet.

You will surely not repent giving me this pleasure, for you will see that I know how to retribute your confidence

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of residence. One usually finds here the more modern and substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considérable property and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. In recent years an occasional example of modernistic architecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

5: Azevedo--19 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.